

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 15962

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC SUMMIT

REF: TOKYO 15886

SUMMARY. JAPANESE VIEW THEIR ATTENDANCE AT THE PARIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT AS AN HISTORIC EVENT. NOT IN FORTY-FIVE YEARS HAS JAPAN BEEN REPRESENTED AT A SIMILAR MEETING. THE SUMMIT WILL TAKE PLACE, HOWEVER, DURING A DOMESTIC POWER STRUGGLE IN WHICH THE JAPANESE SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS--PRIMIN MIKI, FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND FINMIN OHIRA--ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED. RELATIONS AMONG THEM ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE STRAINED. THE SITUATION IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY THE EXPECTATION OF A YEAR-END GENERAL ELECTION.

UNDERSTANDABLY, JAPANESE PARTICIPANTS ARE LIKELY TO TALK AND ACT WITH THIS STRUGGLE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THEIR THINKING. THEY ARE ALSO LIKELY TO AVOID ANY INITIATIVE OR COMMITMENT WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY BE USED AGAINST THEM. THESE SENSIBILITIES
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SHOULD OF COURSE, GUIDE OUR DEALINGS WITH THESE MEN. ASIDE FROM

PROTOCOL CONSIDERATIONS, HOWEVER, ONLY THE NORTH-SOUTH ISSUE, LONG IDENTIFIED WITH MIKI, PERSONALLY, IS LIKELY TO BE PARTICULARLY TOUCHY. END SUMMARY.

1. JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN THE SIX NATION ECONOMIC SUMMIT SIGNALS A LANDMARK IN JAPANESE HISTORY. NOT SINCE THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE OF 1930 HAS JAPAN PARTICIPATED AS AN EQUAL AT A COMPARABLE CONFERENCE. A JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER HAS NEVER ATTENDED A SIMILAR MEETING. FOR A NATION UNUSUALLY CONCERNED WITH ITS INTERNATIONAL STATUS, THIS IS A MILESTONE. IN A REAL SENSE IT WILL MARK THE FRUITION OF TRI-LATERAL CONCEPTS LONG DISCUSSED. AS ASIA'S SOLE REPRESENTATIVE, JAPAN IS LIKELY TO BE PARTICULARLY CONSCIOUS OF THE REGION'S NEEDS AND INTERESTS.

2. THE CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE DURING A POTENTIALLY INTENSE POWER STRUGGLE HERE IN JAPAN. THE JAPANESE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS--PRIMIN TAKEO MIKI, FOREIGN MINISTER KIICHI MIYAZAWA AND FINANCE MINISTER MASAYOSHI OHIRA--ARE ALL DEEPLY INVOLVED. MIKI'S PERFORMANCE AT THE CONFERENCE, THE WAY HE IS TREATED AND CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENTS MAY WELL BE IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE OUTCOME. IF THE CONFERENCE GOES WELL IN A PROTOCOL AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIVE SENSE, MIKI'S IMAGE WILL ENHANCED, IMPROVING HIS CHANCES OF RIDING OUT THE POTENTIAL CHALLENGE. ON THE OTHER HAND, AS ADVERSE COMBINATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES, PROTOCOL OR OTHERWISE, COULD CONCEIVABLY PROVIDE IMPORTANT AMMUNITION FOR USE AGAINST HIM.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE THREE MEN, MIKI, MIYAZAWA AND OHIRA, IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE STRAINED. OHIRA, ALONG WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TAKEO FUKUDA, IS ONE OF MIKI'S PRINCIPAL CHALLENGERS AND STANDS TO BENEFIT FROM DEVELOPMENTS EMBARRASSING TO MIKI. CONCERNED THAT HIS ATTENDANCE IN A ROLE INFERIOR TO MIKI'S WILL TARNISH HIS IMAGE, HE CONTINUES TO SEEK ANY POSSIBLE REASON TO STAY BEHIND. MIYAZAWA, ALTHOUGH NOT NOW A CONTENDER FOR MIKI'S JOB, WAS NOT MIKI'S CHOICE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER AND, ALTHOUGH A MEMBER OF OHIRA'S FACTION, IS NOW SEEKING SUPPORTERS FOR HIMSELF AT OHIRA'S EXPENSE. THE SITUATION IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY THE WIDESPREAD EXPECTATION OF A GENERAL ELECTION AROUND YEAREND.

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4. AT THE CONFERENCE, ALL THREE MEN--BUT PARTICULARLY MIKI AND OHIRA--WILL BE UNUSUALLY CONCERNED WITH JAPANESE MEDIA HANDLING OF THEIR PERFORMANCE, THE PERCEIVED RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THEM, AND THEIR CONTACTS WITH OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS. MOST OF THEIR STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS WILL BE MADE WITH THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THEIR THINKING. THEY WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS ABOUT MAKING ANY INITIATIVE OR COMMITMENT WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY OPEN THEM

TO ATTACK.

5. THESE SENSIBILITIES SHOULD, OF COURSE, GUIDE OUR OWN DEALINGS WITH THESE LEADERS IN PARIS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF ANY DOUBTS MIKI'S DURABILITY AND THAT OUR PROTOCOL HANDLING OF THE THREE MEN BE CAREFULLY CORRECT. ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE, MOST OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY THE JAPANESE DELEGATION WILL BE BASED ON, IF NOT THE RESULT OF, INTER-MINISTERIAL STAFF WORK AND APPROVED BY THE CABINET. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEM WILL BE SHARED AND CRITICISM WILL NOT AFFECT ANYONE'S POSITION. BUT JAPANESE STATEMENTS OR INITIATIVES ON THE NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEM WOULD BE AN EXCEPTION. THIS ISSUE HAS LONG BEEN IDENTIFIED HERE WITH MIKI PERSONALLY.
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